"Some words may be added as to the position of the women. Those few writers who have touched upon the social position of the Jibaro woman have described it in that biassed and erroneous way which has been the rule especially among missionaries when they have dealt with the position of women in savage societies: she is nothing but an oppressed slave, without rights, and hardly regarded as a personality at all.(1) The truth is that the married Jibaro woman is not only completely independent within her own sphere of activity, but exercises a remarkable social influence and authority even in matters which mainly concern the husband. It is interesting to state in this respect that a family-father never sells fruit or other articles of food without the consent of his

"1. It is difficult to give a more incorrect idea of the position of the Jibaro woman than Rivet gives in the following words: 'Méprisées par leurs mari elles ne sont que des esclaves destinées à le servir, à préparer le chicha et les aliments, à filer et à tisser le coton, à cultiver le chacra qui entoure la maison.' (Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 59). The ignorance of the customs of the Jibaros upon which this statement is based may be inferred even from the fact that spinning and weaving ('filer et tisser') are occupations exclusively incumbent on the men. A similar erroneous account is given by Vacas Galindo in Nankijukima, p. 121 sq., who was probably Rivet's authority."

wife. There are, I think, few civilized societies where the man so unfailingly asks his wife's advice, even in unimportant matters, as among these savages. It occurred very frequently during my travels in the forest that I paid visits to the Jibaro houses to buy manioc or bananas, and received from the 'autocrat' of the house the answer: 'I must first ask [254] my wife.' Frequently the wife happened to be absent for the moment and then the answer was: 'Wait a while until my wife arrives.' I saw that there was a store of manioc and bananas in the house, and it would have been an easy thing for the man to give me immediately what I wanted to buy; yet he compelled me to wait for a long while, perhaps for hours, only to be able to ask his wife's permission to make the insignificant bargain. Still one can understand this consideration for the housewife when articles of food are in question. Since the wife is the keeper of the food and is responsible for the existence of a store sufficient for the needs of the family, it is natural that she should also be allowed to decide how much of it can be given to strangers. But her influence seems to be about the same in other matters. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when I tried to find an Indian to go with me on a certain journey, I frequently received the same answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.' On one occasion a middle-aged Indian at Canelos had already given me a half-promise to accompany me on a long journey by canoe. The definite arrangement depended on the assent of his

wife. When later he asked her, however, she made objections, the result being that the Indian finally declined to enter into my service. When a thing, however insignificant, was to be bartered, the women always wished to have a voice--and their decision was generally final. It might seem natural that the men alone should have the right to decide, for instance, respecting feather ornaments and other ornaments which they themselves make and only they use, things which in fact are always regarded as strictly personal property. Still even when trying to barter for such ornaments I frequently received the usual answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.'

Such instances unquestionably make the theoretical 'autocracy' of the Jibaro husband appear in a somewhat curious light.

It would therefore be a great mistake to infer, from the cruelty with which adultery is often punished, that the Jibaro women are generally badly treated by their husbands; the very reverse is the rule. Of the relations between husband and wife in the Jibaro family it may be proper to say that it is regulated according to the principle: 'The man governs, but the woman holds sway.' That the Jibaro woman is by no means a slave to her husband but is able, when the situation requires, to maintain her independence, appears for instance from the following incident which I witnessed on my last journey among the Indians. The wife of my old friend Angoasha, Yanua by name, had gone out to the [255] fields to fetch fruit with the younger women. When they returned late in the

evening they were received with reproaches by Angoasha because he and the other men were running short of manioc-beer and the women had not arrived in time to brew any more. But Yanua who had been working hard the whole day was not disposed to accept any blame which in her opinion was wholly unjustified.

'Brew manioc-beer for yourself', she called out in indignation. 'Who would clean the fields and who would carry home the manioc, the sweet potatoes, and the earth-nuts if ~~we women~~ did not do it?'

'Why must the women always brew the manioc-beer?' asked one of the younger women. 'The men themselves may do it; then they will not be dependent on us'.

Angoasha answered nothing, probably because he realized that the objection was justified."

I: Karsten--255-256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

"That conjugal love and affection also exist among savages like the Jibaros, I was frequently able to confirm myself. Thus even young girls of 8 or 10 years seemed to be most tenderly attached to their husbands or fiancés, who were many years older than themselves. When I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians they sometimes took their wives with them, especially to carry the fermented manioc substance, indispensable on all their journeys. On these occasions I had an opportunity to witness how my Indian baggage-bearers took care of their wives on the way, helping them to wade across the rapid streams and to climb the steep hills.

It may perhaps still be objected that the division of labour is unfavourable to the Jibaro woman, the heaviest work being incumbent on her. Precisely this assumption must be termed erroneous, as ought to be sufficiently clear from my previous statements. Thus the heaviest work in agriculture is no doubt the rough work, the felling of the giant trees and the removing of the trunks, as well as the clearing of the ground. This work, which requires great bodily strength, is always--among the Jibaros as among other Indians in Western Amazonas--performed by the men. Agriculture in the proper sense of the word, the sowing and planting, the clearing of the land, etc., is work that must be done by the women. The latter have also to carry home the fruits they cultivate--though not the plantain which is cultivated by the men--and it must be admitted that the baskets containing manioc are frequently very heavy. The big trunks and other kinds of material required for the constructing of houses, on the other hand,

are always brought by the men, [256] like the heavy logs of chonta wood used as fuel in the houses. As a general rule it may be stated that the heaviest work in the Indian society is done by the men, whereas occupations requiring less physical strength or more adapted for the weaker sex are incumbent on the women. But whatever the division of labour may be, it has nothing to do with the 'egotism' of the men and their desire to oppress the weaker members of the community.

The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of bloodguiltiness, e. g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance.

The high esteem which the Jibaro woman enjoys cannot, however, be properly understood unless we realize that it has, so to speak, its foundation in the Indians' view of the world. When describing the 'feast of the women' I mentioned the mysterious influence

a family-mother is believed to exert upon all those departments of life where she is active, an influence which is increased by artificial means. Only a woman can act upon the female spirit of the manioc plant so as to make it produce an abundant crop; cultivated by a man it would yield but a meagre harvest. Only under a woman's care will the swine and the fowls increase and thrive, and the hunting-dogs become able to trace the game. With no education by a prudent and skilful mother, the sons and daughters would hardly grow up brave men and intelligent family-mothers. The man who does not own a good wife, properly initiated during the 'feast of the women', will soon find himself deprived of the necessaries of life, nay, will see his whole household ruined, however well he may have been provided in the beginning with fields and domestic animals. Hence the extraordinary importance and the great social influence of the Jibaro woman."

1; Karsten--271 (1916-18). 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

20. Dyott--186
116, 593

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"The woman's influence in the home is much greater than is generally supposed. Both individually and collectively, women wield considerable power, and woe betide the man who deliberately abuses them, for he will let himself in for a world of trouble. In our homes, a single woman can make things pretty disagreeable if she wants to, but imagine what chance of peace an Indian might have with five or six women arrayed against him! In one part of the Amazon country, a wife, if neglected by her husband, sometimes resorts to rather a unique method of 'getting even.' She prepares a peculiar concoction which is served surreptitiously in her husband's food. It has the peculiar property of turning him into a drivelling imbecile. Custom permits her to marry another man if her husband becomes a lunatic, so she takes advantage of the opportunity, and her first husband trails along after the newly married pair like a dog, waiting on them hand and foot.

One seldom sees any outward sign of affection. There is neither kissing nor love-making, yet jealousy sometimes drives a woman to desperate deeds. It would be difficult to conceive anyone who was susceptible to the latter emotion entirely omitting the outward signs of love."

25. Vigna--44 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 593

The husband is absolute master of his wife. If he finds that she is unfaithful, he will punish her harshly and severely, inflicting wounds with the machete in her head or body.

25: Vigna--44 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 556, 593

It is easy to see that the wealth of the Jíbaro consists in the number of his women. The affection of the latter for their children is intense and touching. This is not always true of their affection for the husband. Instances in which the woman hates her husband and causes his death by poison are nor rare. The women are very clever in the handling of poisons. Many times the men themselves do not know the poisonous herbs, tubers or reeds as well as the women. There are cases in which the women have prepared a poisonous drink of which the effects appeared only some weeks or months after! They have sometimes hidden the fatal substance in their fingernails, and, mixing it with chicha have offered it to the stranger, acquaintance, or husband, thereby procuring the rapid or slow death of their victim; the rage, cunning and malevolence of the Jíbaro woman is beyond belief.

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[834] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[144] tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life, he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

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man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's homemade garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

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ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out.

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves.

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the

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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsanu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ici*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice [591] temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*wahe*) from either parent's side [591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny 582 creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jívaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of

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wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iči* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wahe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupī and Ašaŋā are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Ašaŋā asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirā was dead). Tukupī gave her to Ašaŋā, and Ašaŋā and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Ašaŋā did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Ašaŋā frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupī went to the house of Ašaŋā. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

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593 605 met, they fought. Finally, Ašaŋā gave his sister to Tukupī. Thereafter, when Ašaŋā beat Tukupī's sister, Tukupī beat Ašaŋā's sister.

Tukupī said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupī and Ašaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other 602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest 606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her. 576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even [832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for [578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daugheer, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *asi*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you." And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp. 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded. While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

After the successful completion of the killing expedition, and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceeding the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

[593]

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tawaspā*)

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jívaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jívaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amúcï*) in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsucï*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
562 is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
278 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
• [593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death.

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party.

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination.

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

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chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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of the *tawaspä* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation. Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sexual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-cousin (*wahe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wahe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *wahe* (male cross-cousin and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists. Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

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Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common. Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-

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the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather suddenly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes, when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untă*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untă* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

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4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes silently when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s). [593]

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *amuay*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

9. *Muisak* may alternatively be pronounced *muiska*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [766]

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. [114]

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderosian et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *kakaram*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 24). [787]

16. The breezes are caused by his *tsentsak* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jivaro (see pp. 119–20).

CHAPTER V

1. Danielsson (1949, p. 92) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yurupaza neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay. [177]